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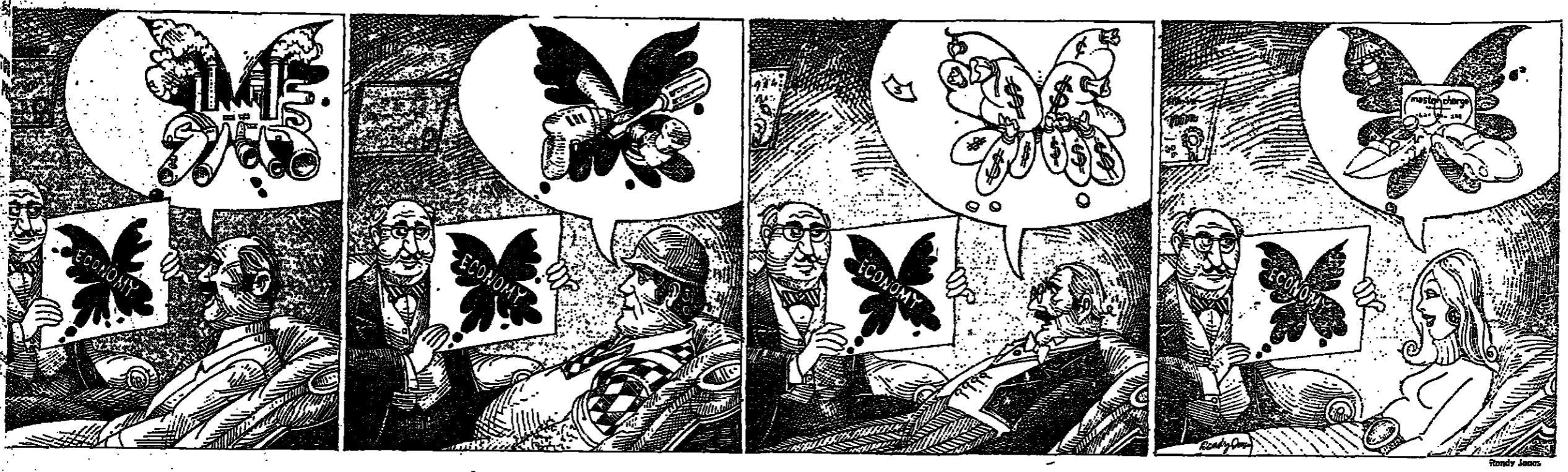
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THE WEEK IN REVIEW

Sunday, November 21, 1976



Money matters

Mayor Beame's Plan Is N.Y. City's \$1 Billion

Mayor Beame's plan in New York City is the joker in the stack of which New York City's financial plan is built, and thrown the game. The so-called debt plan, the court said, was not a product of financial wizardry and unconstitutional avoidance of the obvious: The city owed its noteholders and didn't pay it was due.

Under the plan, the city would issue \$1 billion in bonds to pay the debt. The plan is not immediately clear, but it appears to be a plan to get the money from the incoming Carter Administration and the new Congress.

explicit timetable, but by referring to corrective action the state Legislature must take, it clearly postponed the noteholders' due date at least into January, when the Legislature meets.

As with the phrase "all deliberate speed" in segregation cases, the phrase "unnecessarily disruptive" in the moratorium case is vital and deliberately undefined. The definition will come when the court applies its reasoning to the specific plans for paying the noteholders are submitted for the judges' approval, as they must be.

Mayor Beame hurried home from Israel yesterday to begin the work of finding the \$1 billion. State and city officials all agreed that the time given them by the court means there is no reason for panic, and they expressed optimism a solution will be found.

The reasons for optimism may be there but they were not evident. The city is already in deficit and must make further cuts in personnel and services; it has no money in its budget to cover the new \$1 billion expense item; the state presumably has none either; the bonds of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, the new financial structure created as part of the recovery plan, fell sharply in value as soon as the court's decision became known.

Carter's Issue Is Now His Problem

President-elect Jimmy Carter, his attention already focused on the economy, got caught to keep it there last week: New economic statistics showed that while the rate of inflation continues relatively modest, the economy in general is showing no improvement. Thus Mr. Carter will soon face as President what was a short time ago his main campaign issue.

There is growing political and economic expert discussion of what he should do to safely stimulate the economy. Among the possibilities mentioned have been a one-shot tax rebate, public works and jobs programs and a broad-based tax cut. Mr. Carter has said he will not decide on a stimulus until he assumes office, and then only if the economy is still relatively stagnant. It appears his economic experts favor the one-time rebate on the ground that it would not limit future tax revenue available for other Government programs. Over 7.5 million people are unemployed.

The current level of economic activity, it appears, will not do much to reduce that jobless total. Among the statistics made public last week was a downward correction in the gross national product for the quarter of the year ending in September. The new figure is 3.8 percent; a 4-percent rate is considered the minimum to prevent an increase in unemployment. Industrial production, a major indicator of the economy's performance, dropped five-tenths of a percent in October.

The Consumer Price Index, however, the measure of inflation in retail prices, rose three-tenths of 1 percent in October, the smallest increase in seven months. A reduction in inflation has been President Ford's major economic goal, but the means he chose meant continuing high unemployment.

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Keynes and Freud Meet In the Free Market

By PAUL LEWIS

Economic man is not playing by the rule book again. That is not very surprising, because he seldom has.

All the same, it is awkward for professional economists when the laws of "the dismal science" are flouted on the scale they have been in the recent recession, for it suggests psychologists may know more about the path to prosperity or other, less inviting, places in the economic landscape than gentlemen with slide rules.

The evidence is substantial: ● High inflation has gone hand in hand with high unemployment, although for years economists have claimed there was an inverse relationship between inflation and unemployment.

● Despite rapid inflation, the man in the street has been banking more money than ever before, apparently oblivious to the fact that its value is melting away, while the price of tangible goods is rising.

● Businessmen did not cut prices when demand for their goods fell, as theory says they should. Neither did unions cheapen labor when firms started laying off workers. Rather, they pushed up wages and priced more men out of jobs.

● Although Lord Keynes, the economic mentor of the times, believed governments could boost demand by pumping money into the economy, record budget deficits (the result of Keynesian policies) throughout the industrial world have produced only an anemic recovery so far.

Even the free market has proved a disappointment. Adam Smith, the father of classical economic theory called it "the invisible hand" that would secure the welfare of all. But a cartel of oil exporting countries have grabbed most of the chips on the table, and there seems to be nothing that can be done about it.

Yet as Prof. Walter W. Rostow of the University of Texas says, none of this would seem so disconcerting to economists if they had read more economic history. For this is not the first time the world has experienced "stagflation," the combination of high unemployment and high inflation. Mr. Rostow finds regular occurrences of stagflation in 18th-century and 19th-century Europe, when harvests failed, food prices shot up and industry slumped because people had less money left to buy other goods.

Moreover, these earlier episodes of stagflation were weirdly similar to our own, for on each occasion rising raw material prices were a major cause of the trouble, although this time oil as well as grain was the villain.

The reaction of ordinary people then was similar, as well. Those who could also tended to hoard liquid funds. In 19th-century Britain, Professor Rostow found, loans were called in and the Bank of England had to rescue country banks, just as the Federal Reserve Board and other central banks throughout the world have been bailing out struggling banks during the past few years.

Dr. George Katona of the University of Michigan, an authority on what he terms "psychological economics," does not find this surprising, even though stockpiling goods might seem to make better sense than saving money. His studies of the behavior of the American consumer since the end of World War II show that only twice, in 1950 at the outset of the Korean War and again in 1972, did he react to inflation or other uncertainties by hoarding goods. At other times, he just saved more money.

The explanation, in his view, is that most consumers are rich enough to make discretionary purchases. In times of uncertainty, the normal reaction is to buy fewer unnecessary things and accumulate money for essentials. The same phenomenon probably occurred in earlier ages, though on a smaller

scale, because fewer people enjoyed such affluence.

Similar explanations could be offered for the other apparent exceptions to the laws of economic behavior. Businessmen and workers have always been reluctant to reduce the price of what they sell, whether it is goods or labor, when demand falls off. Even despots historically have been unable to stop merchants from forcing up prices, either by hoarding scarce goods or withholding those in plentiful supply from the market. As for wage rates, Lord Keynes based his whole approach to economic theory on the assumption that workers could never price themselves back into jobs at times of recession by lowering their rate of hire. He knew that wage rates had not fallen in Britain during the great depression of the 1930's, although millions were out of work.

If workers would not work for less when times were bad, Lord Keynes suggested, governments should expand the total demand for labor by printing money and spending it on works projects of their own. That is the way the industrial nations have tried to preserve high employment ever since. But even this so-called "Keynesian Revolution" may not be so new. For when the monarchs of medieval Europe lacked the means to build castles or fight wars, both ways of creating jobs at the time, they debased the coinage, which was little different from Keynes' idea of printing more money.

Neither is there anything very unusual about the emergence of the oil-producers' cartel in the last three years. Free markets may indeed maximize individual welfare in the end, but in practice governments and individuals have found the lure of monopoly impossible to resist. The towns of the Hanseatic League tried to monopolize trade in Northern Europe in the 16th century, just as Queen Elizabeth I had created monopolies for herself in the lucrative salt and tobacco trade. Every speculator still dreams of "cornering" a commodity market.

The truth is that while economic text books may explain how individuals and countries ought to behave, they are a poor guide to how they will behave in practice. All sorts of other factors enter into the equation, on the natural level as well as the personal. The real springs of economic action often seem buried in the mysteries of the psyche.

Paul Lewis is a New York Times reporter who specializes in economic affairs.

Personal Perceptions Becloud the Dismal Science

Rich, Poor Nations: All in Trouble

By ANN CRITTENDEN

As Adam and Eve goes, Adam turned to comfort his sobbing mate. "Don't cry, dear," he reassured her, "we're just living in an age of transition."

While the global economy may not be facing anything as epochal as the loss of paradise, there is an uneasy feeling among many that the international system may have drifted into unfamiliar and hostile territory. The immediate cause of the apprehension is the impending increase in the world price of oil, on top of the stumbling of the economic recovery in Western Europe and Japan, after a similar slowdown in the rate of real growth (after discounting the effects of inflation) in the United States.

In the second half of 1976, the 24 major industrial nations are now expected to show a disappointing annual real growth rate of only 3.5 percent, after a 6.5 increase in the first half of the year, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris.

The latest estimates, for a 5 percent rate of real growth in 1976 (after discounting the effects of inflation) followed by a 4 percent rate next year represent, in effect, a slide back toward stagnation only a year after the world economy began to recover from the worst recession in 40 years. And while few analysts are predicting that a new recession is in the wings, the estimates do not even take into consideration another oil price increase.

Even more troubling is the fact that the usual counterpart of slow growth—stable prices—has vanished with the nickel candybar. What was once patronizingly called the English disease, or stagflation, a combination of inflation and slow growth, has become a worldwide epidemic. Compared with the average rate of inflation in the 1960's for example, the annual rate in the first half of 1976 had roughly doubled in Japan and the United States, had tripled in France, Britain and Canada and was alarmingly high in Italy.

At the same time, unemployment, which once rarely kept company with inflation, is now also roughly double what it was during the 1960's in Western Europe and the United States.

The sluggishness, it is generally agreed, is a result of the failure of business capital investment to provide the second-stage boost to the recovery that was launched by consumer spending. But economists have no real explanations for the deeper question of the possible structural changes in the way the world economy is working. The causes suggested range from the disappearance of cheap energy and raw materials to unchecked expansion of the world



money supply and to rigidities in the industrial system that prevent prices and wages from adjusting to falling demand.

The economists' theories failed, too, to explain the workings of another major shift in the international economy, the emergence of floating exchange rates. These were expected to enable countries in international payments surplus or deficit to adjust automatically; simply put, as a nation began to buy more than it sold abroad, the value of its currency would fall, its exports would become cheaper and more competitive greater foreign sales would stimulate demand for its currency, and equilibrium would be restored.

In practice, export prices have proved as sticky as any others, and as weak countries' currencies fell, the primary result was to make their imports more expensive, thereby increasing their inflation, and further weakening their currencies. In the last two years, Britain, Italy and perhaps France have fallen into this downward spiral.

The slowdown and inflation in the industrial countries has taken its heaviest toll in the nonoil-producing developing countries, which like Britain and Italy,

have survived since the 1973 oil crisis only by acquiring a staggering foreign debt of more than \$170 billion. Most of that total is concentrated in the "middle income" countries such as Brazil and Mexico, each with an estimated \$22.5 billion in foreign debt.

No precedent exists for these massive international imbalances, or for the fact that the private banking system has financed much of them including almost half of the total debt of the developing countries.

The immediate answer proposed by most poor nations is a general debt moratorium, although the heaviest borrowers among them have dissented, not wanting to ruin their credit standing by even suggesting such a course. The debt has become the central issue in talks winding up between representatives of the industrialized nations and the developing nations in Paris.

Goaded by their underdeveloped allies, who increasingly feel that the oil producers have done little for them other than raise their import bills, the oil nations last week said that progress in the Paris talks—largely meaning concessions by the West on debt and commodity price stabilization—will be linked to their decision on how much to raise the price of oil.

The final ministerial meeting of the "North-South dialogue" of 27 nations is scheduled for mid-December, as is the coming oil producers gathering. Now both meetings may be postponed, as the fragile developing world alliance waits to see whether the new Carter Administration will be more forthcoming in negotiations than its predecessor.

By all indications, this may well be the case. President-elect Carter's economic advisers have indicated a greater responsiveness to the troubles of the developing nations, specifically by expressing interest in certain price-stabilizing commodity agreements, and in the possibility of converting short-term commercial debt of the poorer nations into longer-term World Bank loans.

Domestically, the Democrats are committed to a higher level of growth in the United States, which would in turn stimulate exports in the rest of the world, and have stressed the need for similar, more stimulative policies in West Germany and Japan.

In short, the incoming Administration seems more worried about the instabilities in the global economy than President Ford's advisers, and more willing to experiment with solutions. But these cautious Democrats aren't making any promises that the new activism means that happy days will be here again, at least in the immediate future.

Ann Crittenden is an economics writer for The New York Times.

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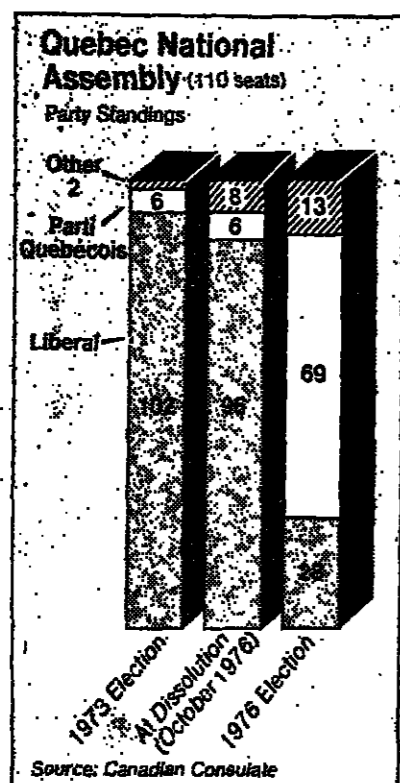
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The World

In Summary

The Quebec Separatists Take Power



The voters of Quebec Province have topped an incumbent Government, apparently because they identified it with corruption and incompetence. In its place last week they chose a party that favors Quebec's independence from Canada although, according to polls, a majority of Québécois are still against that idea.

On the face of it, the victory of René Lévesque's Parti Québécois over the incumbent Liberal Party regime headed by Premier Robert Bourassa was an extraordinary upset. Mr. Bourassa says he will now leave politics. Before the election the Lévesque party had held only six seats in the 110-seat National Assembly, the province's legislature; in the new legislature it will have 69.

The popular vote, however, shows a more modest if still significant swing. In 1973, the Parti Québécois got 30 percent of the votes; this time it got 41 percent. The Liberals got 55 percent in 1973, dropping to 34 percent now. But the Liberal fallout did not all go to Mr. Lévesque's party. Minor parties this time got 25 percent of the vote, compared with 15 percent in 1973.

In the campaign, Mr. Lévesque concentrated less on the issue of independence for the French-speaking province than on offering an alternative to a regime beset by charges of corruption and poor handling of the economy. But it is inevitable that he will have to confront the Canadian Federal Government of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, himself a French-Canadian, on the independence question.

Mr. Trudeau, by fostering bilingualism (which really means fostering the speaking of French outside Quebec) and giving Quebec greater control over social programs, has sought to defuse the ethnic conflict. He made clear last week he will fight to keep Canada one nation. He said Mr. Lévesque had been given a "mandate to form a government . . . not to separate the province from the rest of Canada."

For his part Mr. Lévesque is pledged to stage a provincial referendum on independence probably within two years. He may, however, face pressure to call the vote sooner because anti-separatist forces believe public sentiment is now against the move, but that delay could give Mr. Lévesque time to use his new office to propagandize for independence.

No one expects a repetition of Bull Run on the Ottawa River but the increased possibility of partition of Canada has profound significance for Canadians and Americans. Canada is not only by far the largest market for United States exports, it is also by far the largest source of raw material imports. Iron ore, asbestos and paper products from Quebec form a substantial part of that trade.

Negotiations are scheduled among the Ottawa Government, Quebec and the nine other provinces on revising Canada's constitution. That document, the British North America Act, was passed in 1867 by the Westminster Parliament. Periodically since then efforts have been made to replace it with Canadian legislation. All the efforts have failed.

Portugal to Get A Large U.S. Loan

The United States, which publicly opposed the Marxist administration in Chile and secretly contributed to its ouster, has agreed to lend at least \$300 million to the Socialist Government of Portugal. Washington remembers the Chilean episode for the censure that followed disclosure of the United States's covert activities; Lisbon is haunted by the internal weaknesses of the Chilean Government of the late Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens that created the opening for outside interference.

Dr. Allende's Government was a coalition of Socialists, Communists and radical leftist groups. The Portuguese Prime Minister, Mario Soares, formed a one-party Cabinet four months ago, although his Socialist Party won only a plurality in parliamentary elections, and he has stated repeatedly that he will not form a Communist-Socialist alliance. Where Dr. Allende was pushed by his coalition partners to accelerate leftist reforms to the probable detriment of the Chilean economy, Mr. Soares has proposed austerity measures and a policy of "competitive coexistence" with the private sector, halting nationalizations and promoting labor discipline to retain and attract investment capital. Portugal also has made clear its intention to remain within the Western military alliance and is seeking admission to the European Economic Community.

These differences between the Allende and Soares Governments, and Washington's desire to keep what it regards as a stable and non-Communist government in power in Portugal, prompted the American loan. While many of the Socialist austerity measures have been unpopular, Mr. Soares contends they are necessary to alleviate a state of near bankruptcy left by a series of ephemeral governments following the revolution of April 1974. Portugal's balance of payments deficit for the current year is conservatively estimated at more than \$1 billion and its gold reserves are almost depleted.

Chile Frees Prisoners

The Chilean junta that deposed the Allende Government in 1973 announced last week that it was freeing all but 20 of its remaining 300 political prisoners, whose detention has aroused protest in many nations, prominent among them the United States. Congress specifically cited the issue when it decided to bar military aid to Chile and limited economic assistance to an annual \$30 million and President-elect Jimmy Carter has said he would never propose aid to Chile unless the human rights situation there substantially improved.

U.S. Says No To Hanoi at U.N.

Nearly 20 months after the war in Vietnam ended, 795 Americans still listed as missing (presumably they are dead) remain a major bargaining lever as Washington and Hanoi move to construct a postwar relationship.

Last week, the United States again vetoed Vietnam's application for admission to the United Nations. The reason given was Hanoi's failure to provide what the United States regards as a full accounting of everything Vietnam knows of the missing servicemen. The two countries have begun diplomatic talks in Paris, but the United States has stated repeatedly that it will not establish ties until the issue is resolved.

Whether the Vietnamese have more information than they have already provided is not known.

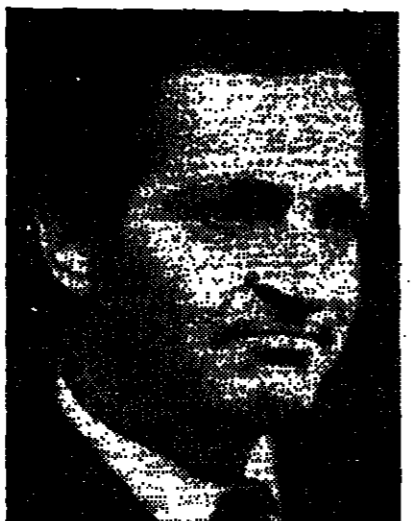
Newly unified Vietnam wants American economic aid, or at least an end to the United States's current trade embargo, to further a policy of economic independence. Hanoi already has acquired membership in such bodies as the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank.

Assuming the Vietnamese can and do clarify the status of the missing Americans, however, there is no guarantee they will receive substantial monetary help. Even if President-elect Jimmy Carter proposes such aid—and Mr. Carter has not said if he will do so—there remains the question of whether Congress will support him.

Spain Decides to Vote Once More

The parliament bequeathed to Spain by the late dictator, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, has voted its own demise and replacement by the country's first democratically elected legislature in four decades. The approval last week by the Cortes—by a large margin—was a concrete sign that while nothing really has changed in Spain, in a sense everything has.

In addition to the Cortes, the authoritarian structures of the Franco era are still intact. The police still



Premier Adolfo Suarez of Spain.

An Uneasy Alliance: Canada and Its Provinces

By HENRY GINIGER

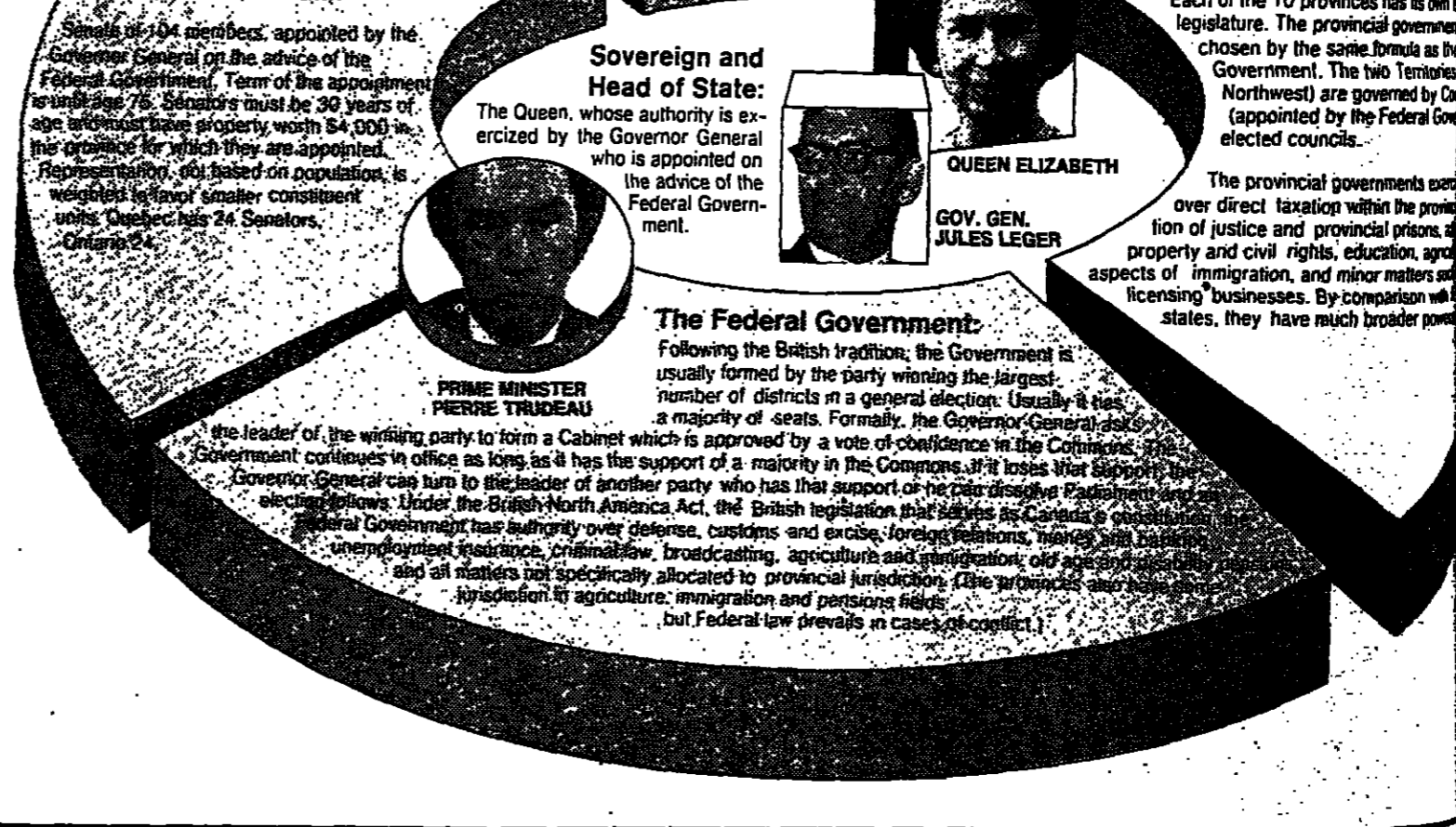
MONTREAL—Two French Canadians are to meet next month in one of the more dramatic confrontations in modern Canadian history. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, whose home town is Montreal, is Prime Minister of Canada and is responsible for maintaining its territorial integrity. René Lévesque, whose home town is also Montreal, is Premier-elect of Quebec after last week's election, and he wants to lead his province eventually to independence.

Both men are governing under extraordinarily complicated and delicate arrangements. Canada is commonly, and rightly, thought of as a sovereign nation able to make its own decisions in foreign and internal matters. Yet, Canada's basic constitution is not in Ottawa but in London where, moreover, its chief of state resides. Queen Elizabeth's rule over Canada is more symbolic than anything else, but what is not symbolic is the British North America Act of 1867, which remains the basic charter of the Canadian nation.

The Quebec election involved more than just a change of parties and government. Because the Parti Québécois has as its fundamental option the independence of Quebec, suddenly the rest of Canada must look on Quebec in a different light. But Mr. Lévesque must not only deal with Canada but with Britain as well. And Queen Elizabeth is thrust into the role of George III trying to stave off a form of rebellion on the North American continent.

In each Canada Yearbook summarizing the state of the Canadian nation at the end of every year, there appears the following explanation of Canada's constitutional arrangement:

How Canada Is Governed



Rebuilding In Lebanon

With Syrian troops now occupying Beirut and much of Lebanon, ostensibly as part of an Arab League peace force, and with most of the shooting in the 19-month civil war stopped, Lebanese civilians are beginning reconstruction of the city that formerly was the hub of Arab commerce. The first steps have also been taken by President Elias Sarkis toward reviving the government bureaucracy and such services as electricity, water and sanitation facilities.

Mr. Sarkis has yet to deal with the original cause of the fighting: the division of power between Lebanon's Moslem majority and the Christian minority that previously dominated the country's economic and political life. Some Christian and Moslem leaders are against returning to the old system and are calling for a totally secularized state. Others, especially Kamal Jumblatt, the leader of the Moslem-leftist alliance, disagree and want a new government organized on a different but still confessional basis. But the present respite will allow the Lebanese an opportunity to count the cost of the war. Even conservative estimates say that 35,000 persons died in the fighting. One Cabinet minister said last week 60,000 had died and, among the survivors, 1.7 million of Lebanon's 3 million people need help. Counting the cost to Lebanon's commercial life will take longer. No one knows how much Lebanese capital left the country during the war and only time will tell whether Mr. Sarkis and his associates can provide sufficient

stability to attract it back and to attract again the outside capital that once used Beirut as its principal Middle East base. Many foreign banks and businesses have departed Beirut for Athens, Teheran and Arab capitals.

Rhodesia Talks Unsuccessful

With the meeting in Geneva moving at an apparently negligible pace, the racial war in Rhodesia has intensified. The white minority government of Prime Minister Ian D. Smith claims military "victories," but the question remains: Just how long can Rhodesian forces contain the black nationalist guerrillas should the Geneva conferees fail to agree on a mechanism for a peaceful transfer to majority rule?

There were several indications last week that the whites were capable of resisting for some time. Although outnumbered by the nationalists, Government forces are much better trained. They also have assurances that South Africa, a major supplier of arms and ammunition, and Rhodesia's sole conduit for weaponry slipped through the network of international sanctions, will not block deliveries provided the whites fulfill their commitment to try to work out a settlement in Geneva. The guerrillas are supported by the five so-called front-line African nations, but with the exception of Mozambique, where most of the insurgents are based, the support is essentially political. They receive most of their weapons from the Soviet Union, which reportedly has stepped up deliveries in recent weeks.

The Smith Government troops killed 31 guerrillas in southeastern Rhodesia in which it said was the highest toll in any single engagement since war. Mozambique said its forces attacked an army camp on the border, using 20 aircraft. Seven of the planes were shot down over a date for independence. In Geneva, negotiations stalled over a date for independence over majority rule. Bishop Zorewa, leader of one of the factions represented, accused nationalist leaders of "cheap power politics" by that Bishop Muzorewa and the black delegation leader who shown partiality by the Smith Government.

Brazil's Bishop Speak Out

The Roman Catholic Church, which has been a powerful voice against the Government, has delivered its most outspoken statement so far in terms of the regime's tolerance for torture, unjust distribution of land and failure to protect the Indians' from white men.

The statement last week at the National Conference of Bishops directed against the Government of President Ernesto Geisel was a landmark in the history of the church-state relations in Brazil.

مكازم لشميل

M. H. ...

to the Tension

The World / Continued



Soares of Portugal and the ghostly reminder, Allende of Chile

Walter Curcio

The Aftermath of Portugal's evolution Is Expensive

By MARVINE HOWE

After two and a half years of revolutionary change, Portugal is threatened with economic collapse. Inflation has soared, investment is standing still and the government is running out of cash. Minister Mario Soares has told the Portuguese that they must begin to pay the bill, jeopardizing his party and that of his minority Socialist Government. After four months in power, the Soares Government has taken a number of unpopular steps to correct the excesses of the revolution, but their salutary effects are only just beginning to be seen.

The aftermath of the April 25, 1974 military coup against the right-wing dictatorship, hard-pressed suburban housewives daily damn the Socialist Government for all their woes and some have even been heard to mutter, "Soares should be lynched." Cashing in on the public's frustrations, Communists and radical leftists, as well as parties to the right of the Socialists, have stepped up their opposition to the Soares Government and are expected to make gains in elections set for December 12. The voting is only at the municipal and parish level, but it is considered a crucial test of the Socialist Government's popularity.

Chile's Official Withdrawal Is Further Harm to an Effort at Economic Integration in the Latin Andean Pact Is Not Working Out

By JONAHAN KANDELL

JANEOIRO—Latin American political and economic life has been a dream ever since the days of Simon Bolivar more than 150 years ago. The most serious effort to realize this elusive goal has been the Andean Pact, an association formed in 1969 by Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, and joined by Venezuela in 1973. It was sought to promote free trade among member nations and technical resources, and allocate investment more rationally among their countries. It was that only an entity encompassing 70 million consumers could develop a full-scale, modern industry capable of giving the Andean nations the economic deal with multinational companies and powerful nations such as Brazil. The Andean Pact has suffered a serious setback—a fatal one—since Chile has officially withdrawn from it.

Pact rules went into effect, foreign investment in local industries and services has dried up. By contrast, Brazil, whose regional hegemony the pact sought to counteract, has attracted more than \$5 billion in foreign investment over the last decade. Sergio de Castro, the Chilean Minister of Economy, broadened the attack further and converted it into a debate which is currently being echoed throughout the developing world—on the merits and disadvantages of foreign investment and multinationals. As the Chileans see it, the continued absence of foreign investment will mean that the Andean countries will have to depend on local capital to achieve a desirable growth rate. The buildup of local capital could only occur through some sort of forced program of national savings, and that could only come from a curtailment in consumption.

state. He has made considerable progress toward this aim with the help of the military President, Antonio Ramalho Eanes. Unlike the postrevolution period of anarchy, now when the Government makes a decision, it sticks to it: demonstrations are orderly and the armed forces are firmly under the President's control.

Nevertheless, the seeds of destabilization still are present. While terrorist bombers have ceased their attacks, they still move with impunity. A bomb exploded last week at the home of Antonio Lopes Cardoso, the left-wing Socialist Deputy, causing considerable damage but no victims. Lopes Cardoso, who had just resigned as Minister of Agriculture, was under fierce attack by conservative farmers and by his own party's right wing for his agrarian reform policies.

The bombing stirred universal protest and strong pressure for the reorganization of the security forces, which already seems to be having its effect. But the Soares Government, has made little headway toward its principal objective: reviving the economy. The balance of payments deficit is estimated at about \$1.165 billion this year, unemployment is over 15 percent, production is lagging—Portugal imports over 50 percent of its food—and the level of private investment is low.

The Government has initiated an austerity program that has resulted in widespread public outcry and seems to have hurt most those who can least afford it. A 25-to-31 percent increase in the price of public transport caused general discontent and riots at the Lisbon ferry. There was even more protest against a forced savings plan that substituted government bonds for workers' usual Christmas bonus. Living costs have veered sharply upward with a new 20-to-30 percent surcharge on imported goods and a 60 percent increase on "superfluous or luxury" imports such as shellfish, candy, wines, tobacco, perfumes, furs and jewelry. The middle class has been hard hit by continually rising property and professional taxes.

Measures to restore social calm have not reassured management but have enraged the labor unions. One new ruling limits fringe benefits, overtime and sick leave and sets a 40-to-45-hour legal work week. Another measure authorizes dismissal for a wide array of "just causes." There is also a proposal to bar strikes in vital services. The decree setting up a single national union confederation, dominated by the Communist Party, has been revoked and there have been unsuccessful attempts to establish a parallel organization.

At the same time, the Government has moved to correct some of the excesses committed under the Communist-dominated agrarian reform program. About 100 illegally occupied farms have been returned to their owners but there are many more claims. A ruling last week provides for indemnities for nationalized property—paid in government bonds, which is unlikely to make the beneficiaries very happy.

There also have been moves toward social reform. Work has begun on an important new housing program and a national health service. But the general complaint is: too little and too slow.

In sum, Mr. Soares is trying to restore economic and social order in this country but he is meeting strong resistance, even from within his own party. The left wing of the Socialist Party, who form a vocal minority, have openly attacked the Soares Government for its "procapitalist" labor policies.

Nevertheless, the Government's efforts to stabilize the revolution have won broad international support, although until recently this has been largely verbal. Two weeks ago, however, a meeting of the European Free Trade Association confirmed that a \$100 million fund has been set up to develop small and medium industry in Portugal. Then last week it was announced that the Ford Administration had approved a \$300 million emergency loan to Portugal and would seek Congressional consent to participate in a long-term \$1.5 billion consortium with West European countries, namely Germany, to help this country.

Mr. Soares was enthusiastic, saying that the large American loan was "a demonstration of confidence" in Portugal's young democracy and in its Socialist Government. "Now the conditions have been created for economic recovery," he declared. "We have the necessary political and military stability, a new far-reaching development plan and the political determination to carry out our projects."

Last week, the Government presented its economic plan for 1977, which is to be debated by the legislature. In essence, the plan forecasts a substantial increase in public and private investments in productive sectors, a reduction in consumption, increased expenditures for social services, price controls on essential food items and the creation of 125,000 new jobs.

There were protests against the continued high defense expenditures, now that the colonial wars are over and Portugal is demobilizing its oversized armed forces. Nevertheless, initial reaction was favorable. The plan does not solve the country's economic crisis, but the feeling was that it shows the way out.

Marvine Howe is a correspondent for The New York Times, based in Lisbon.

Echeverria Defending Reforms

Conservatives In Mexico Are Sure Their Day Is at Hand

By ALAN RIDING

MEXICO CITY—After being on the defensive for the last six years under President Luis Echeverria Alvarez, Mexico's conservative middle and upper classes are now confident that the country's current economic troubles will force President-elect José López Portillo to move sharply and rapidly to the right.

Even before Mr. López Portillo takes office Dec. 1, conservative groups are not only openly denigrating the performance of President Echeverria, but also trying to force the hand of his successor. Even the United States State Department, long irritated by Mr. Echeverria's militant advocacy of the interests of developing nations, is making no secret of its belief that, with inflation and unemployment on the rise following the recent devaluation of the peso, an economically vulnerable Mexico will be obliged to seek a more tranquil and passive relationship with Washington.

Aware of the gathering of conservative forces, however, Mr. Echeverria seems determined to prevent a reversal of his reformist policies. Rather than quietly leave office, he has launched an offensive against "reactionaries" and "minorities" in a clear effort to mobilize and alert leftist opinion.

Heightening the nervousness that traditionally accompanies changes of government in Mexico, the ideological confrontation of the last six years has therefore become particularly bitter during the final weeks of the Echeverria Administration, causing serious political unrest and further undermining confidence in the economy.

Following a substantial new outflow of capital late last month, the Government was forced to devalue the peso. The currency, which maintained a fixed parity with the dollar for 22 years, has now lost over half its value since Aug. 31. Adding to the shock caused by these devaluations in an economy preoccupied with monetary stability, scores of rumors have been provoking anxiety among businessmen. One such rumor that Mr. Echeverria would use the army in order to remain in office after Dec. 1 became so strong that senior military officers were brought out to reiterate their support for the constitution.

But even independent observers feel that much of the present uncertainty arises from Mr. Echeverria's reluctance to surrender power, even to a hand-picked successor from



President Echeverria and President-elect López Portillo of Mexico.

the same long-ruling party and with whom he has maintained a close friendship for 30 years. Although Mr. López Portillo was chosen to be the next Mexican President more than 13 months ago, he remains a mystery to most Mexicans, cautiously avoiding any criticism of the outgoing administration and giving only vague hints about his policies.

In contrast, with only days left in office, Mr. Echeverria continues to hold on to the political spotlight, leading a caravan of politicians on a vaudeville tour of the country, inaugurating projects, making provocative speeches, being praised by sycophantic party officials and unavoidably coming under more suspicion.

Yet, even if Mr. López Portillo wished to pursue the same policies as his predecessor—and presumably that was Mr. Echeverria's intention in picking him—Mexico's essentially authoritarian system demands strong government and would oblige the new President to impose his authority on the country, even at the risk of clashing with Mr. Echeverria. Mr. López Portillo's personality is so different from that of Mr. Echeverria, more intellectual, less rhetorical, more pragmatic, less visionary, that new policies would be expected almost automatically.

However, more than anything else, the poor shape of the country that he will inherit—more politically divided than at any time since the 1968 student movement, economically weaker than at any time since 1954—will probably define the ideological coloring of his administration. Even leftist intellectuals seem to agree with conservatives that a swing to the right in the coming years is inevitable. To avoid the danger of a right-wing rebellion, perhaps supported by some army elements, Mr. López Portillo must reunite the country by appeasing conservative opinion, and to ensure a recovery of the economy, he must persuade Mexican and foreign businessmen to resume investing.

With their hand strengthened by Mexico's desperate need for new foreign credit, commercial bankers and the International Monetary Fund are now in a position to lay down the law. In exchange for loans exceeding \$2 billion since the first devaluation, three months ago, they have already told Mr. López Portillo he has no choice but to improve strict austerity and slash government spending. They are prepared to add to Mexico's \$23 billion foreign debt and are able to do so—last week Mexico secured an \$800 million European loan, its largest single commercial loan ever—because of continuing confidence in the country's basic political stability and optimism over its important new oil reserves. But new pressure on Mexico to accelerate crude oil exports, currently running at only 125,000 barrels per day, is inevitable.

Similarly, organized labor, pampered by the Echeverria Administration, can look forward cheerlessly to controlled wages and higher prices, the quid pro quo that the private sector is demanding for a resumption of investment.

Because of the strengthening of leftist political groups during the Echeverria Administration, on the other hand, protests at these measures in the form of strikes and peasant land invasions could merely force the new government further to the right.

The role of Mr. Echeverria will be crucial: He could use his influence over labor and peasant organizations to make austerity acceptable; or he could encourage protests and force Mr. López Portillo even deeper into alliance with private sector.

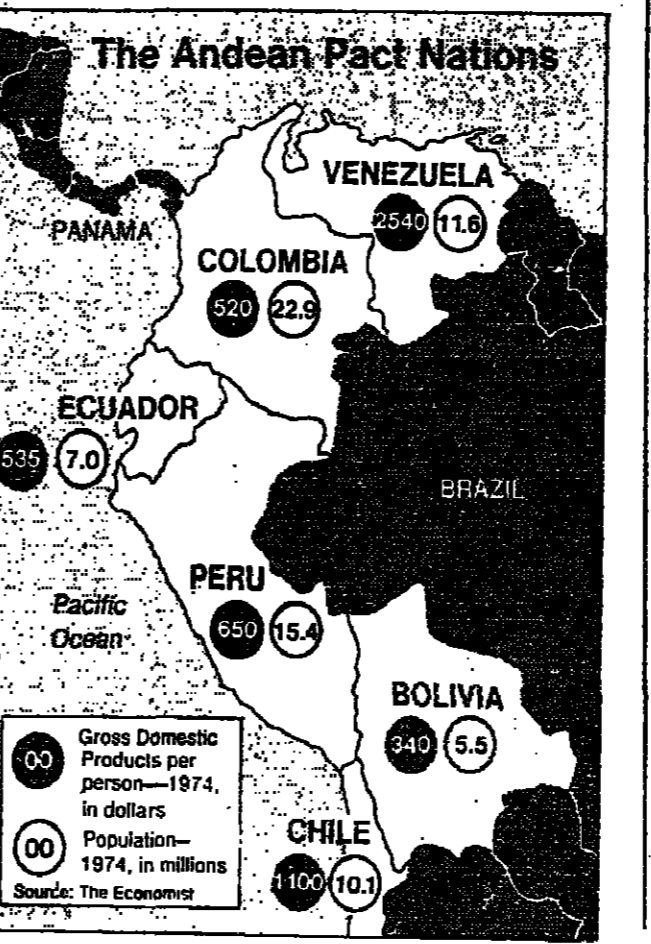
Whatever the outcome, Mr. López Portillo's domestic difficulties will be so immediate that he can be expected to give less priority to foreign affairs and may slowly abandon Mr. Echeverria's fervent campaign for a "new world economic order."

The basic principles of Mexico's foreign policy will be maintained, among them, a formal commitment to the developing world and an "open-doors" policy for Latin American leftist exiles.

Alan Riding, a journalist based in Mexico City, writes frequently on Latin American subjects for The Review.

of the pact's executive commission, the argument with Chile had stagnated progress within the Andean group for a year. He said that now "it will be possible to give definite push to industrial programs that have been under intense study."

The continent has been swept by right-wing military regimes which have different ideas on foreign investment. The Bolivians are known to sympathize with the Chilean attitude. Within Peru and Ecuador, whose military regimes have recently undergone coups by more conservative elements, there exists strong pressure among business groups against the pact's investment rules. It is no coincidence that the Andean members with the most investment capital—oil-rich Venezuela and Colombia, with its booming coffee exports—have recently been the strongest defenders of the pact.



Brazil's Speak

Kandell is a correspondent for The New York Times in Brazil, who also reports regularly from other Latin American nations.

Ideas Trends

Summary



Swine flu shots are administered to Connecticut residents.

Swine Flu Program Dying

Just eight months after President and Congress decided there would be a swine-flu immunization program for Americans, the program is so far from schedule that the goal will in all likelihood prove impossible to meet. Two principal reasons: The program was late in being delivered to health facilities, and public resistance to the vaccinations has been more than enthusiastic, probably because of the deaths of a number of persons after they received

the vaccine. The Administration therefore asked Congress for legislation to indemnify companies against such claims. Form such legislation should take effect by late next summer; many businessmen were unwilling to transcribe liability suits from individuals claiming to have been injured by the vaccine.

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Agreement between Congress and four major companies that manufacture the swine flu vaccine created most of the delay. The companies said they are unwilling to face the possible consequences of liability suits from individuals claiming to have been injured by the vaccine.

Meanwhile, the program had also lost impetus because of statements by health professionals and others that perhaps the swine flu was not so virulent as had first been feared and because no further cases had been observed since the original breakout at Fort Dix, N.J.

As things now stand, the Federal Government estimates that somewhat more than 20 million adult Americans have been immunized, leaving around 120 million yet to be reached.

Photography Of the Heart

Scientists at the National Institutes of Health have developed a computer-assisted method of making motion pictures of the heart in action that offers several advantages over traditional ways of making internal heart pictures.

The new method, called radiocesium cineangiography, takes only half an hour, as against at least two days of hospitalization for contrast angiography, the traditional method. Therefore it can be used for outpatients, permits screenings of larger populations, and is less expensive, dangerous and painful than ordinary angiography. The radiation dose is also much smaller.

Moreover, in contrast angiography the patient must remain at rest, while in the new method pictures can be taken during exercise. Thus early signs of coronary heart disease that cannot be detected in a resting heart may be discovered in the exercising heart. In addition, the functional importance of a heart lesion may be studied during exercise, when it can be different from the conditions that obtain in the heart at rest.

In contrast angiography, a material opaque to X-rays is passed through an artery into the chambers of the heart by means of a plastic tube. But the new method requires only an injection of radioactive material into any vein. An instrument that registers radioactivity is applied to the patient's chest, and a computer scans each point of radioactivity every one-hundredth of a second, constructing a moving picture that can be viewed on a television screen.

In a talk before the American Heart Association in Miami Dr. Jeffrey S. Borer of the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute in Bethesda, Md., suggested that, because people can now be repeatedly screened for early signs of coronary heart disease, researchers could hope to select a test population for long-term observation. Such observation could determine whether early signs of asymptomatic heart disease become more acute with time, and could permit the study of the effects of various therapies over long periods.

Another Teacher Union?

The National Education Association, a teacher's organization with 1.8 million members, has said that it will begin a membership drive among New York City schoolteachers to form a union against the 65,000-member United Federation of Teachers, headed by Albert Shanker.

John Ryor, president of the N.E.A., said New York's teachers had indicated they wanted a change. He criticized a proposal by Mr. Shanker to suspend collective bargaining for the duration of the city's fiscal crisis. He also said the N.E.A. was prepared to pursue better working conditions, better grievance procedures, and better protection of the rights of employees.

At U.F.T. headquarters, Mr. Shanker said, "When this battle is over, the teachers of New York City will stay with our union."

Minority Enrollments

Minority enrollment has dropped in medical schools and leveled off in law schools in a trend widely ascribed to a change in the nation's mood. Some civil rights advocates fear educators are not so committed to minority recruitment programs as they once were. In 1970, 2.8 percent of first-year medical students were minority-group members; blacks, Mexican-Americans, mainland Puerto Ricans or American Indians. By 1974-75, the proportion had risen to 10 percent, but it is down now to 9 percent.

Minority enrollment in law schools rose from about 4 percent in 1970 to 7.5 percent in 1974 and stood at 7.4 percent in 1975. Current figures have not been compiled.

To reach "affirmative action" goals, admissions officers often give special consideration to minorities. At least one lower court has found this practice unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court has made it clear that it is willing to rule on the issue. Meanwhile, educators say, uncertainty may be making colleges wary of anything that looks like "reverse discrimination."

Educators willing to speculate on the leveling off of enrollment in law schools proposed that minority members may not be so eager to become lawyers as in the past, partly because other fields have opened up to them. It is also suggested that the sluggish economy has a different psychological impact on the races. Some blacks may avoid law school because they anticipate dim job prospects, while whites may assume they will get jobs whatever the state of the economy.

The stressful nature of medical education for members of all ethnic groups was underlined last week by Dr. Gordon H. Decker, chairman of the department of psychiatry and behavioral sciences at Oklahoma University.

Dr. Decker told the annual meeting

of the Association of American Medical Colleges that from 65 to 85 percent of medical students seek some form of psychological counseling during their four years of study. This compares with estimates of 50 to 60 percent in nursing school, 30 to 40 percent in dental school and 15 to 20 percent at the undergraduate level.

Medical students feel they are confronted with a body of knowledge so vast as to defy mastery, yet they also worry that failure to learn may result in a patient's death.

Most, used to being near the top of their undergraduate classes, face unaccustomed and anxiety-producing competition for grades in medical school. They have money troubles. They feel that faculty members press them too hard at a time in their lives when they need emotional support. And they are stung by hostility from patients who resent the fact that some doctors earn high incomes.

Students Study Government

Over the last two years, schools that prepare students for government careers have experienced a 67 percent enrollment increase that educators attribute to a combination of student idealism and self-interest. A record 22,000 men and women are now enrolled in such "public-policy" schools.

Alan K. Campbell, dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, says that despite widespread disenchantment with government, large numbers of students still consider public employment the best way to improve American society.

Like many of his colleagues, Dean Campbell finds that students are also driven by a practical motive. They know that graduates of public-policy schools rarely lack for jobs. State and local governments are becoming increasingly interested in hiring them for such positions as policy analyst or finance director.

So far, the Federal Government has shown less interest. That may change when Jimmy Carter takes office. The President-elect has promised to create 250 internships for public-policy graduates, who will be given two-year assignments with both political and career executives.

N.J. Court Rules For Abortion

Yet another in a series of recent Federal and state court decisions reaffirming the right to abortion has been handed down in New Jersey. The State Supreme Court ruled last week that nonprofit, nonsectarian hospitals cannot refuse to provide abortion services.

Three hospitals had declined to permit elective abortions on the ground that community conscience opposed them. A lower court upheld the hospitals' prohibition. The State Supreme Court, however, found in its 6-to-1 opinion that "Moral concepts cannot be the basis of a nonsectarian, nonprofit eleemosynary hospital's regulations where that hospital is holding out the use of its facilities to the general public."

The ruling could affect about 80 New Jersey hospitals and is likely to make hospitals in other states feel they are now more open to litigation. However, it is rare for hospitals in some states, among them Connecticut and New York, to ban abortion outright, although they may discourage the procedure in such indirect ways as charging high fees.

Tom Ferrell and Virginia Adams

Headliners



Mr. Murdoch's Entrance

The New York Post, the city's only afternoon daily, is going to be sold to Rupert Murdoch, who owns newspapers in Australia, the United States and England. Mr. Murdoch has a reputation for revitalizing failing publications by featuring scandal and crime. He runs an empire that includes 83 newspapers and 11 magazines, among them Britain's largest circulation newspaper, News of the World, and in this country, The Sun (Tex.) Express and Evening News. Mr. Murdoch quickly raised circulation—and local anger—with his sensationalist approach in San Antonio. The Australian publisher said The New York Post "will maintain its present policies and traditions." Dorothy Schiff, present publisher, said she was confident that Mr. Murdoch "will carry on vigorously in the tradition I value so deeply." Mrs. Schiff has followed a generally liberal policy since she bought the paper in 1938.



Deportation Order

Phillip Agee, the former Central Intelligence Agency employee who wrote a book detailing some of the agency's stratagems, and disclosed the names and location of some of its operatives, has been ordered to leave Britain. The deportation order accused Mr. Agee of threatening British security and of maintaining contacts with unidentified foreign agents. Mr. Agee speculated that pressure by the C.I.A., angered by his book and by articles published in a magazine he works for called Counter-Spy, was responsible for the deportation order. Earlier last week, Mark Hosenball, another American reporter, was ordered to leave for being a security risk. Mr. Hosenball works for a British paper, but he has written articles on intelligence activities for the magazine, Time Out.

Gary Hoenig

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During Thanksgiving week, The Living Section will be published on Monday in The New York Times

Don't Munichize end hypocrisy and cynicism!

The U.N. Security Council, under petrodollar influence, protested measures taken by Israel in occupied lands—warning against any "profanation of the holy places"—knowing full well that Israel zealously guards religious freedom for all.

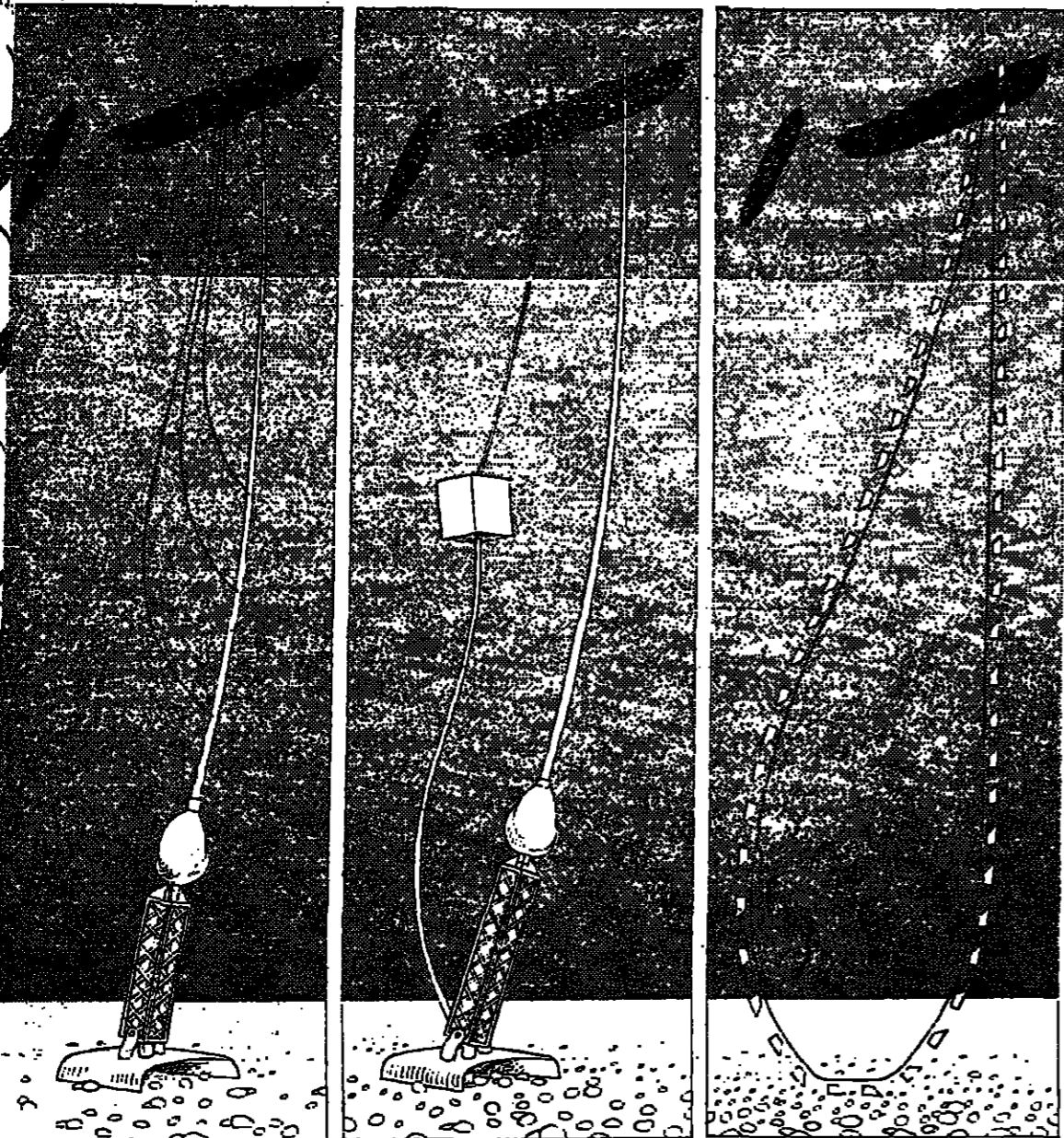
The rationale for the universal gang-up on Israel is the piously-proclaimed "inadmissibility of retention of territories seized by force." What hypocrisy! Did any of the major powers surrender all seized territories—even when the lands were so far removed as to be no threat to security? What about the U.S. and Japanese islands? Did Russia relinquish huge areas grabbed from Germany, Poland, Baltic States, Finland, China, Rumania? Did not Jordan reject the U.N.'s assignment in 1948 of much of present Israel—and instead chose war? Should aggressors institute war, lose it, and then receive the rewards of a victor? Should E. Jerusalem (where now democratic privileges are universal) be returned to Jordan who for 19 years barred even Israeli Arabs and destroyed everything Jewish?

Israel is justified, historically and morally, in retaining present borders: first, because the Arabs (even the so-called "moderates") aim to destroy Israel and refuse to negotiate peace; secondly, the 1967 borders gave Arabs' missiles dangerously close positions; thirdly, under Israeli Arabs enjoy a standard of living and democracy unknown in neighboring Arab countries.

Messrs. Ford, Kissinger, and Scranton should heed Sen. Eagleton's warning: "The moment we sell out a small courageous democracy in the name of profit . . . or oil, we contradict our own nation's reason for being." Pray that Pres. Carter will heed it!

Public presentation by S. Norman Course 815 E. 14th St., N.Y.C.

Science



Three methods now considered technically possible for mining metallic nodules from the deep sea floor are: at left, air-lift pumping, in which a sweeping device dragged along the sea bottom is provided with suction by compressed air pumped from the surface through hoses; the hydro-lift system [center], in which suction for the sweeper comes from sea water forced upwards by a pump which itself may be suspended at an intermediate depth; and the continuous bucket system [right], in which a belt of empty buckets, trailed behind a moving ship, is dragged across the bottom until filled, then raised in a more or less straight line to the mining ship.

Sea Mining: Difficult, but Not Impossible

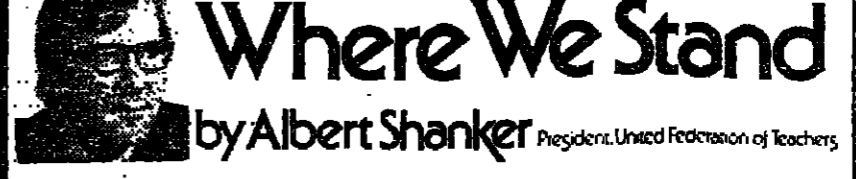
By WALTER SULLIVAN
The floor of the Pacific Ocean there are believed to be at least billion tons of metallic nodules, lying the deeper regions with what like misshapen black potatoes. The manner of their formation is controversial, there is no doubt their composition. They are rich in critical metals as cobalt, copper, manganese and nickel, offering to a hungry world a vast reserve materials.

ment insures the exploiters against loss from adverse provisions of a future treaty—corporations are unlikely to invest the hundreds of millions of dollars required for such an enterprise. While nodules have been found on the floor of Lake Michigan, they occur primarily in salt water at ocean depths of two and three miles. The richest known deposits lie in a narrow zone extending from the central Pacific, south of Hawaii, eastward toward Mexico. It lies just north of the equatorial zone of intense biological activity—and hence of rapid sediment deposition. Such deposition would tend to bury nodules before they could be mined. Some scientists believe they are formed by bacteria that extract and deposit the metals dissolved in seawater. It has been estimated that ten million tons of nodules are produced annually, providing a renewable resource. Manganese is the primary constituent of the nodules but the metal of chief economic interest is nickel, of

which the United States currently imports more than 90 percent of its requirements. Furthermore, almost 20 percent of the country's copper comes from overseas. Three primary approaches are being pursued to meet the challenge of raising the nodules from the depths at which they lie. They are: air-lift pumping, hydro-lift and the continuous line bucket system. In air-lift pumping a suction device linked by pipeline to the mining ship is dragged along the bottom. Compressed air injected into the pipe at various levels creates an upward flow that "vacuums" the nodules off the bottom. A rake or screen prevents nodules large enough to clog the pipe from entering. In a recently published analysis by the Congressional Research Service for the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs this method is evaluated as the most complex. It is said to be less adaptable than other systems since the locations of air injection and other features must

be adjusted for varying ocean depths. An advantage is the lack of any need for operating pumps deep under water. The hydro-lift method, the second under consideration, pumps water to create an upward flow through the pipe. The pumps can either be on the bottom or at intermediate depth. The congressional study notes that the technology for this system is well established having long been used in the coal industry and in pumping the "mud" used in oil drilling. The continuous line bucket method uses a braided rope to which dredging buckets are attached at intervals of about 100 feet. As the ship moves slowly over the deposit the line of buckets sinks until it reaches the bottom, then is dragged along the bottom and hoisted up again. Because of the ship's forward motion the descending line of buckets loops far out astern. On the other hand, the line of rising buckets en route to the surface would hang straight down, well clear of the descending buckets. The relative effectiveness of these systems is not public knowledge. Among the determining criteria will be production rate, the extent to which unwanted sediment is brought up, and efficiency in sweeping closely spaced tracks without overlap. The bucket system must avoid snagging on bottom features. Suction systems must be dragged along the bottom in such a manner that, when the sea floor suddenly descends to greater depth, they do not lift off the bottom. Research has been under way in various laboratories on ways to extract the valuable metals from the nodules. Methods used in refining ores from mines on land are inapplicable. Research has also been under way by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration on the environmental effects of deep sea mining. Fears have been expressed that waste material, including bottom sediment, dumped from the ship or from buckets en route to the surface would blanket bottom life. However, the deep sea floor is only thinly inhabited and it has been tentatively concluded that the environmental effect would be localized. For more than a decade a number of large industrial enterprises have been working on the technology needed to retrieve the nodules and extract their metals. A number of American companies, including Atlantic-Richfield, Kennecott Copper, Lockheed, Phelps-Dodge, Tenneco and United States Steel are involved. In virtually all cases they are participating in international consortiums whose goal is to perfect the methods. In some cases, once large-scale mining begins individual companies, or new consortiums, will probably do the work. The testing of small-scale systems is believed largely complete, but the investment needed to inaugurate full-scale mining will probably not be made until the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea determines the ground rules for such efforts. The cost of a full system, with ships, mining equipment and metal extraction facilities, has been estimated at: from \$300 to \$500 million. One consortium has laid claim to a rich nodule deposit on the Pacific floor southeast of Hawaii, but the claim is not recognized by the Department of State. It was made in 1974 by Deep Sea Ventures, a consortium in which Tenneco was the chief stockholder. An effort has been made in Congress to provide at least a partial federal guarantee of the large investments necessary but this has been opposed on the ground that such a burden on the taxpayer for corporate profit was unwarranted. Walter Sullivan writes about science for The New York Times.

ADVERTISEMENT



Where We Stand by Albert Shanker President, United Federation of Teachers

New York Negotiations in 'Wartime' Unless City Survives Bargaining Won't
Last week newspapers across the country printed stories on a statement which I made dealing with contract negotiations in New York City under the present emergency. The best of these reports were accurate as far as they went, but they gave little detail. The overwhelming majority of the accounts printed outside of New York City itself were completely erroneous. They reported my saying—at a seminar in the city—that public employee collective bargaining should end because government agencies everywhere are having financial problems. Now, anyone who can believe I would say that can believe just about anything.

Like many other union leaders, I have devoted my life to advancing the cause of collective bargaining. Unlike other workers, teachers did not accept the idea of collective bargaining until very recently, and some do not accept it yet. For years I went from school to school in New York City, and to hundreds of districts all across the United States, to convince teachers that they, too, deserve and should demand the right to bargain collectively. More often than not, over these years, the strongest opposition I faced was not from school boards or administrators, but from the National Education Association and its affiliates, which came to recognize the merits of bargaining only much later.

Timing of New Contract Talks at Issue
Of course, my remarks last week did not advocate an end to collective bargaining. But I did call for a significant change in the timing of negotiations in New York City.

First: I was talking about New York City and only New York City. Many government agencies throughout the country still have relatively easy access to more money if they want it. Others have financial squeezes and difficulties but there is still some room. No other city or school district faces New York City's problems. That is the reason our crisis has been front page headlines all over the world for more than a year.

Second: Public employee negotiating, as we have known it in New York City and as it is practiced elsewhere, is currently in shambles in New York because it is restricted and modified by state law, applying only to our city, which freezes certain benefits, forces drastic annual budget cutbacks and establishes a Control Board that exercises vast powers. In addition, because of the federal loans required to avert default by New York, the city, in effect, has federal overtures.

Third: The limited public employee contract talks that have taken place have been painful. They have been time-consuming, frequently bitter. Salary adjustments have been small and always accompanied by cutbacks in working conditions.

I suggested some changes.

Tripartite Board Could Rule on Inequities

I don't like "boards" after the experience with the Nixon Wage-Price Board (although the experience with the War Labor Board seems to have been quite different). But the fact is that we already have a board—the Emergency Financial Control Board. If we are to live with a board, it should be one which specializes in labor concerns. It should not be representative exclusively of management, government and business, as is the EFCB. It should be tripartite, with representatives of labor and government and "neutrals" acceptable to both.

Such a board could help to maintain fair treatment for each group of employees and deal with any inequities.

Existing contracts would be continued and extended in this extraordinary period. Since the current "emergency" provisions last only until 1978, that would be the outside limit on the new procedure.

The greatest benefit to everyone is that this temporary postponement of new negotiations would leave unions, the city, the agencies free to devote all of their time and energies to the one thing that matters most: getting help to save New York City, a city under siege, a city engaged in a war for survival.

We Must Restore Self-Government to City

Perhaps the "war" analogy is a bit strong, but it is not far off. In time of war, everything becomes secondary to winning the war. Because if the war is lost, all citizens may lose needed services, businessmen may lose property and wealth, labor may lose contract rights and the very ability to bargain. New York City employees have already lost many of their bargaining rights because the city—their employer—has lost much of its self-governance. The way to restore collective bargaining is to restore self-government. We must bring about the conditions which will end the need for a "control" board.

In war we deal with matters of life and death. If the terms "life" and "death" are too strong to use in the current situation, we can all agree that continued suffering and enormous hardship lie ahead unless the city gets help.

It is because I want to restore public employee collective bargaining that I believe it is wiser that we stop haggling over new and very meager benefits now, that we continue working under our contracts, that we devote all our efforts to saving our city. Unless the city is saved, collective bargaining has no future here.

Mr. Shanker's comments appear in this section every Sunday. Reader correspondence is limited. Address your letters to Mr. Shanker at UFT. This column is sponsored as paid advertising by the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, American Federation of Teachers, 87-019, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10018. © 1976 by Albert Shanker.

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